2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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The Eucalyptus-tree woman, Mudungkala,[48] *at Jurubulinai (Buchanan Island)*

773 After the burial of *Purukupali*, *Tukimbini* sent his wife, *Mudungkala*, to Jurubulinai (Buchanan Island) to establish a totemic place and create the local foods.

× 532 Pl. 19c, d, illustrates, with considerable detail, the topography of the island and the home of the little spirit children, *Pitipituis*.

778 The central design, *a*, is Jurubulinai; circle *b*, (lower left) depicts a small island nearby on which there is a freshwater spring where *Mudungkala* once urinated; and circle *c* (lower right) is a bed of cockles, one of the local foods created by the mythical woman.

On the lower left, a crescent, *d*, symbolizes a small salt-water creek in a mangrove swamp where *Mudungkala* quenched her thirst. At *f*, there is a large rock in the deeper water, a favourite haunt of the turtles. Here the mythical woman once collected white ochre to decorate herself.

Boulders, at one time the stone axes, *mungwanis*, of *Mudungkala* are at *e* (bottom); a stony point of land, the transformed bark basket, is at *g*; a pile of red rocks (her camp fire), at *h*; a sandbar (the cycad palm under which *Mudungkala* sheltered), at *j*; and a salt-water swamp (where she ground her stone axe), at *k*, *k*. The passage between Jurubulinai and Bathurst Island is indicated by the horizontal bands, *ll*, *ll*.

The white crescent, *m*, at the top of the painting, a large sand-bar, Unakumba, on the south of the island, is one of the homes of the spirit children, the *Pitipituis*. The aborigines claim that, when some distance from [776] Unakumba, they often see the spirit children, but, as they come closer, the little people disappear.

When the tide is out, the *Pitipituis* play on a sandbar, *p*, but when it is covered, the spirit children go to their camps at *o*, under the sand, where everything is dry and warm.

● [787] [842] Should one of the spirit children wish to visit an aboriginal man in a dream, to ask for a mother, it walks along the road, *q*, and, if unsuccessful in its quest, returns by road, *r*. At *s*, on the left-hand side, is the waterhole from which the *Pitipituis* obtain their drinking water, and at *t*, is their diminutive bark canoe, less than a yard long, which, like the spirit children themselves, can be seen at a distance, but disappears when the aborigines come closer.

Red stones, *ee*, and yellow stones, *dd* (right), were once body paint used by the mythical eucalyptus-tree woman. Her nautilus-shell ornament is at *vv*;

[48] Locally known as the ironwood tree.

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former locality make their camp in a dense jungle, and at the latter, in the forest near the sea-coast. At one time, these *Pitipituis* lived at Juruna, but left after a while and established these camps at Jurilupa and Jampanurai. 776

(9) Umakumbi (Buchanan Island). Here, the home of the *Pitipituis* is on a sandbank on the southern side of the island. When the tide is low, the little people play on the sandbank, but when it is high, they go to their underground homes, where it is warm and dry.

During the early creation (*palawarri*) times, *Purukupali* visited one or another of the homes of the *Pitipituis* in a bark canoe, brought back some of the little people and gave them to his sisters, *Wuriupranala* and *Murupiangkala* so that they could have children. In a later period, *Purukupali* gave the *Pitipituis* to his wife, *Bima*, who in turn presented them to their future mothers. 773 776

Before *Purukupali* drowned himself, after the death of his son, *Djinini*, he told the *Pitipituis* that they must find their own mothers. Now, should one of these little people wish to become a human being, it travels to a native camp, and giving her name, asks one of the married men (when he is asleep) where its future mother is camping. After the father has indicated the particular wife, the little sprite waits a suitable opportunity to enter her vulva and start life as a human being. 776 842 787

The aborigines believe implicitly in the *Pitipituis* and the mystical origin of their children; several of them gave me details of how their children came to them in dreams.

Old *Tjamalampua* told of the time when, while he was asleep, the *mopaditi* of his dead father brought him a spirit child, and sat it on his knee saying, "This is your daughter." *Tjamalampua* directed the little *Pitipitui* to one of his wives, who later became its mother.

Muramajua described how his three children came to him.

(1) A boy, now dead, came from a Japanese plane[48] and asked for his wife as a mother. Later she felt the movements of the child. [177]

(2) A little girl came to him in a dream and spat at him. His wife conceived soon afterwards.

(3) His last girl hit him on the head whilst he was asleep, and, in his fright, he slapped her face. It was not long afterwards that his wife became pregnant.

Those accounts indicate that although, ideally, the child comes to the father and asks for the mother, in actual practice they visit the father under a number of conditions.

[48] This aboriginal had worked with the Australian Navy during the war; an example of acculturation.

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532 776 the background is the sea. The white central transverse panel is the beach at Wuirangku.

The meaning of the designs on the lower panel are similar, the black central and branching lines representing the tracks made by the *Pitipituis* as they travel to and from their camps (the black discs); the encircling lines represent the sand around those camps, and the painted background, the jungle which shelters the little people.

3. THE PARAMANUAS[40]

776 The *Paramanuas* are short, particularly active, agile men, about three feet high, with thick, powerful limbs, tusk-like teeth, and projecting toe and finger nails.

In general, except for these details, they resemble the aborigines in appearance, eat the same foods and follow a similar way of life.

They live in many places throughout Melville and Bathurst Islands, but no one except those captured by the *Paramanuas*, has seen either them or [753] their homes. As they dislike being talked about, and often make those people [124] ill who do so, I found it somewhat difficult to gather information about the *Paramanuas*.

The homes of the *Paramanuas*, their wives and their children, are spacious underground caves, the entrances to which are openings either in the side of termite mounds, or hollow trees. In these caves, the men store their utensils, [343] weapons and food (Fig. 14). Their cooking fire, like that of the aborigines, is always outside of their camp.

776 Occasionally a *Paramanua*, wishing to befriend an aboriginal, will watch him for some time. Then one day when the aboriginal is hunting by himself, ●787 the *Paramanua* will cast a spear at him. But, before the spear has reached its mark, the *Paramanua* will have caught it and, standing at the back of the aboriginal, will be tickling his ribs. The aboriginal, thoroughly scared, turns to strike his opponent, only to find him again at his back. This game goes on until the aboriginal is exhausted, dizzy and confused. Then hitting him on the side of the head with an open hand, rendering the aboriginal unconscious, the spirit man picks up the prostrate man and carries him to the underground home of the *Paramanuas*.

Awaking to find himself in a dark place, the aboriginal is terrified, but on receiving plenty of food from the *Paramanuas*, and treated with every kindness, the aboriginal loses all fear, and as the weeks go by, all sense of time.

[40] Harney and Elkin, 1942, p. 232, refer to these little people as Barminuar.

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776 After many weeks, the *Paramanua* takes the aboriginal to a forest close to his old camp and releases him, saying, "You're lucky to have been caught
●787 by a *Paramanua*. From now onward, if you don't tell anyone about me, and the things you have seen, I'll be your friend. I'll protect you in a fight; I'll chase game toward you so that you'll be known as a good hunter, and because I can see into the future, I'll make sure that you do not get into serious trouble."

To this, the aboriginal always agrees; but should he divulge the source of his good luck, his *Paramanua* guardian, who is always nearby, will either kill the aboriginal for his breach of faith or withdraw his protection.

532 Fig. 14 and Fig. 15, are copies of two crayon drawings of the *Paramanuas*,
776 one (Fig. 15) being the work of a younger sophisticated aboriginal.

Fig. 14 deals with a *Paramanua* and his family at home in a termite mound. The central figure, *a*, is a conventionalized representation of a *Paramanua*. His face and head are at *b*, the radiating lines within the two circles indicating his hair. His feet are at *c*, and shoulder blades at *h*, *h*. I did not gather the interpretation of symbols *d*, *d*, but they may be his arms. The outer concentric circles are the walls of the termite mound and discs, *e*, *e*, the entrances to the *Paramanua's* home.

The *Paramanua* is shown again at *f*, in a more naturalistic form, the line across the fingers of the left hand indicating his long finger-nails. The interpretation of design *g*, was somewhat confused, some informants saying that it was a *Paramanua* woman, others that it was a turtle caught for food.

In the upper left is the son, *j*, and the daughter, *k*, of the *Paramanuas*. In these drawings the various parts of the body are separated[46] and have no relation to normal position or appearance.

The head of the son is at *p*, the upper radiating lines being his hair; *q*, is his mouth, the upper lines symbolizing the teeth; *r*, *r*, are two goose-feather balls, and *s*, *s*, his feet. The lines *t*, *t*, indicate his ribs.

On the right is the *Paramanua's* daughter. Her eyes are at *n*, *n*; her eyebrows at *m*, *m*; breasts at *l*, *l*, and her feet at *o*. The chevrons on either side of her body indicate her ribs. The cooking hearths of the *Paramanua* are at *v*, *v*, *v*; piles of rocks at *u*, *u*, *u*; and a jungle is at *w*.

In the middle of Fig. 15 is a *Paramanua* with a goose-feather ball, *tekwianga*, *b*, around his neck, and on the lower right at *a*, his camp in the middle of a large anthill. Within the camp are many foods and weapons; *c*,

[170]

[46] The separation of the parts of the body is not unusual in aboriginal art, Mountford, 1937, Fig. 2, illustrates a crayon drawing of the Ngadadjara tribe of the western Australian deserts, where these characteristics are present.